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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after incision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother announced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley.

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit.

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land alloted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted.

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

Plants Cultivated

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

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I have no record, either from personal investigation or from writings of early visitors, that the cooking of fish—either in leaf packages or otherwise—was the custom in the Marquesas. 252

The kind of *inai* (fish or meat) eaten with these various preparations follows largely the different runs of fish. There were certain preferences in the matter of food combinations—such as skate or shark with *popoi ma* and coconut milk, salt fish with *mei omi* and *ka'aku*, but in the main any raw fish dipped in salt water—all kinds seem to have been eaten—is acceptable with any fruit preparation. It is interesting to note the thriftiness that led to the custom of saving to cook over the charcoal all heads and bones of fish, which could not be eaten raw.

Octopus (*feke*) is enjoyed—whenever one is caught. The lower, smaller ends of the arms are eaten raw; but *feke* is preferred dried and salted. The arms are slit open, rubbed well with salt, left over night in a large [251] bowl, washed next day in the river, dried in the sun, and finally hung up in the cook house to be cut up and chewed whenever desired. Formerly on Hiva Oa the octopus was *tapu* to women.

It was sometimes eaten by men after elaborate preparation, resembling that of *feikai mei paa*. The same banana leaf bags were made of two crossed leaves, shaped in a hole in the ground (though the bending *ti* leaves were omitted) and heavily lined with layers of taro leaves (*u*). The octopus was cut up, put inside these bags, and covered with other layers of taro leaves. Coconut milk was then squeezed over the whole, and the banana leaf bag carefully gathered together and tied up with a strip of fau bark. It was not necessary to hang the bags on poles across the small oven in which they were cooked, as the contents were only slightly liquid, but they were set in the oven upon the earth-covered stones and covered in the ordinary fashion. After two hours in the oven, this *fatai u* was removed, cooked to a turn, and both octopus and taro leaves were eaten together. Pig was used in similar fashion with the taro leaves, the coconut milk being omitted, however, as its own grease was sufficient. At present, the natives boil the octopus, as their Tahitian neighbors have taught them, in coconut milk with a bit of *ena* root.

Lobsters (*uka*), crabs (*toetoe; tupa*), and shrimps (*koua*) are dipped in sea water and eaten raw. Shrimps caught in the river with a small net (*to'o*) or with an ingenious slipknot of coconut fiber tied onto the end of a midrib of a coconut leaflet, are chewed to a pulp by the mother, and fed [846] to a new-born baby as a purgative. Raw shrimps and crabs are also eaten by the mother for several weeks after the birth of the child. Today fish is [251] sometimes dried and salted, but it is a recent custom; raw fish is the staple, as has been said. *E ika mito* (evil-smelling fish) is prepared some-

/11 cont./ take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks. 844 [178]

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes. 846 757 [824] [824]

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the husband and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth. 846 757 178 [833] [842]

The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes [826] [757]

/13 cont./ 846 ●
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy 757
condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species)
is recommended.

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" [753]
(mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the [824]
fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption.

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again [824]
utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth.

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned 844
breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of [412]
shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of 853
colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents [178]
use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple.

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These